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LETTER DATED 20 NOVEMBER 1997 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF IRAQ TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a letter dated 20 November 1997 addressed to you by Mr. Mohammed Said Al-Sahaf, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq, informing you of the decision of the Revolutionary Command Council to issue an invitation to the Special Commission, with its full complement of members, to return to Iraq to pursue its work there.

I should be grateful if you would have the present letter and its annex circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Nizar HAMDOON
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

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ANNEX

Letter dated 20 November 1997 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq addressed to the President of the Security Council

I have the honour to inform you that Mr. Saddam Hussein, President of the Republic of Iraq, chaired a meeting of the Revolutionary Command Council on Thursday morning, 20 November 1997. That meeting produced a statement containing a decision by the Council to issue an invitation to the Special Commission, with its full complement of members, to return to Iraq to pursue its work there.

In addition, the Russian-Iraqi Joint Declaration of 20 November 1997 refers, inter alia, to the fact that an agreement has been reached whereby Iraq will accept the return of the Special Commission, with its full complement of members, to resume its work in Iraq.

I should be grateful if you would inform the members of the Security Council of this matter and have the present letter and its annex, consisting of the statement issued by the Revolutionary Command Council and the Russian-Iraqi Joint Declaration, circulated as a document of the Security Council. In addition, I should be grateful if you would inform the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission of this decision taken by the Government of Iraq.

Enclosure I

In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful!

To the glorious Iraqi people,

Worthy sons of the fatherland,

Friends of the Iraqi people throughout the world.

For over seven years the honourable women and glorious men of Iraq, upheld by their right to life, their patriotism and their human values, have resisted injustice and iniquity. Following a whole range of events, of which you will be well aware, and realizing that injustice could not overcome the truth, the forces of evil, headed by the United States of America, that modern incarnation of evil, decided to resort to the conduct of cowards devoid of all humanity and impose an unjust embargo on a proud and worthy people, the guardians of the great values of civilization, the glorious people of free Iraq. They justified their intrigues by various arguments, including the allegation that Iraq had not fulfilled its obligations, imposed on it by their iniquitous resolutions, to destroy arms and equipment termed prohibited under these resolutions.

Although convinced that all the injustices imposed on it result from a total lack of balance, equity and sense of proportion, and of values that are no longer upheld in the region and in the world, both because of the conditions prevailing in the region and because of the disappearance of certain fixed points which played a well-known role, Iraq has nevertheless complied with what are conventionally termed Security Council resolutions by undertaking the destruction of, among others, all so-called weapons of mass destruction and their associated equipment. Factories, workshops, assembly lines, equipment and private laboratories have been destroyed because the Americans considered that they might have supplied, or could supply, services for the prohibited activities. The inspection teams and their equipment, which are largely controlled by the Americans - who make no secret of their objectives, even though they differ from those of the Security Council - have throughout that time mocked the destiny of a whole people in order to delay a review of one of its most elementary and legitimate rights, the lifting of the embargo.

More serious still is the fact that, instead of showing some wisdom and taking the obvious step of applying paragraph 22 of resolution 687 (1991), enabling Iraq, through the Security Council, to export its oil and lay in supplies, the United States has set about manipulating its agents, who exercise a strong influence on the inspection teams, to persuade them to oppose the Iraqis on futile points, alleging, for example, that Iraq had not fulfilled its obligations, without allowing it to take its case to international forums such as the Security Council and the executive committee of the Special Commission. The United States has won over the majority of the members of the Security Council by dint of its diplomatic techniques and its well-known media techniques of disinformation and distortion of the truth, and persuaded them to adopt resolution 1134 (1997), which Iraq has rejected as being unjust and arbitrary in the expectation that the Security Council would work towards a lifting of the

embargo, which would be a just turn of events for this country and its great people.

The embargo claimed more than a million victims among the Iraqi people, who were also deprived of countless opportunities to progress and to live. The Americans destroyed all that they wished to destroy under the aegis of the Security Council which, for the reasons given above, has been sunk until recently in a kind of torpor. In the face of such arrogant, vile and immoral behaviour, Iraq has no other way of making its voice heard and claiming its rights but to expel the Americans from the country. In so doing it is merely exercising its right of sovereignty, which gives all States the right to expel foreigners whom it considers personae non gratae, even if they are members of the diplomatic corps.

Confronted with this definitive decision, the United States reacted disproportionately in adopting, as is its wont, an attitude of contempt for the law of nations and peoples, for humanitarian law and international law, with its threats to resort to brutal force. The great Iraqi people, however, builders of civilizations, who have resisted all invasions, rose as one man, taking up a position that not even the weakest spirits could ignore. The forces of evil then realized that on this occasion any aggression would cost them dear. The position of the Iraqi people has been supported by the Arab countries at both official and popular level and has been greeted with understanding in many international circles, even though some of them were not so long ago allies of the United States, which has found itself helpless in the face of this new situation. It is a complex situation, fraught with all manner of risks, and it must be tackled by those who seek a solution based on international legality and those who wish for Iraq's voice to be heard in demanding the lifting of the embargo. Those who believe in a just solution include Arab and international States and individuals, including some individuals whose countries are permanent members of the Security Council. Mr. Boris Yeltsin, President of the Russian Federation, has therefore, through his Minister for Foreign Affairs, undertaken a series of contacts and initiatives with Iraq. In-depth discussions between Moscow and Baghdad have resulted in an agreement to resolve the crisis on the basis of this just and equitable analysis. We have accepted this formula because it is the product of these discussions, because it takes account of the present realities and because it corresponds at least in part to our vision and our requirements, even if it does not satisfy all our rights. Whenever politics loses its way and forfeits its efficiency or when it is influenced by forces of evil which ignore international law and legal obligations towards Iraq, we can, after God, the All-powerful, count on our nation, with its love of justice, and on the great Iraqi people, with its men, its women and its children. Iraq will be able to attain all its aims with less effort and fewer sacrifices when its position is better understood in the Arab world and internationally. That is why we should not fear for the future.

Honourable Iraqi women and men,

You will be the makers of victory, with God's help, since you have been able to rise above the tide of events at every point.

On the basis of the agreement concluded with Russia, we have decided to invite the Special Commission, with all its members, to return to Iraq to resume its activities.

Dear brothers,

Dear friends,

Every time that a new conflict arises we find ourselves face to face with events that we could never have imagined might occur and the unimaginable becomes reality. We find ourselves in situations where those in power tell lies, proclaiming themselves champions of causes that fly in the face of justice. Such situations occur to a certain extent throughout the world and in most cases they are due to the United States of America and to those whom that country drags in its wake, persuading them to support certain Western causes and personalities. These causes and their adherents are taken up by the media, which vie with each other to spread their calumnies and lies.

During this crisis, as during previous crises and tense periods, these groups have redoubled their malignance, although totally discredited and having lost much of their credence in other spheres. The United States of America destroyed our installations, our factories, our arms and our equipment in any way they saw fit, reducing to smithereens what they called forbidden equipment or arms and even production lines and factories capable of making such material; meanwhile we, after suffering all these blows, with the United States openly threatening to resort to military force and continuing to lay down the law at every level - we undertook, as we have always done when threatened with aggression, to dismantle our factories, our workshops and our production lines, which we later transported from the sites that the American spy specialists knew down to the last detail. If we moved the installations it was to protect them against destruction. Indeed, we are an embattled country and, as you know, it is not easy for us to replace what we have lost, to assure the essential minimum for the survival of our brave people.

They said that Iraq had shifted the equipment and production plants away from the sites in order to use them to manufacture weapons of mass destruction, which had the potential to threaten life on the planet. They wept copious tears for the children of the world because of these alleged weapons, knowing that no sensible or educated person could believe them, but persisting in this lie, as with all the other fabrications, because they knew that not all of their audience had the background, education or information to be able to see the link between cause and effect and to see through their lies before they had insinuated them into the minds of those in whom they wished to instil fear of or anger towards Iraq.

Frustrated by their failure, they are now at a loss and furious that the Iraqi authorities have managed to shift their factories and installations away from the sites whose every detail they noted down in the book of crime, as an excuse to carry out the vile, evil and aggressive destruction of the people's property.

Is there a worse crime than lying to and deceiving the world? They are doing what they did when they made up stories and presented false information to the world, and even to institutions that are supposed to represent the people, namely the United States Congress (the Senate and the House of Representatives). This they did before and during the biggest phase of military aggression by the 30 allied countries against Iraq, over seven years ago, during the eternal Mother of all Battles and the three air and missile attacks launched against our people and our country, with no reference whatsoever to Security Council resolutions.

Dear Brothers and Friends,

Do you remember the slogans they used against Iraq and how they used them? Do you remember the decisions they took under the umbrella of the Security Council in August 1990 and later, during one and a half months of fighting in the biggest phase of hostility, involving 30 allied countries against Iraq? Do you remember the decisions they took right up to the ceasefire, declared by former United States President Bush without any conditions on his part and without the prior consent of Iraq? Iraq replied to the ceasefire in a public statement. The troops were separated with no conditions having been imposed, other than that neither of the military forces could pass over to the armies of the other side.

Until that moment, from August 1990 to March 1991, the slogans of the Security Council, America and its allies made no mention of disarming Iraq of its chemical or other weapons. Despite the hostility of 30 countries against Iraq, and despite the fact that those countries had the opportunity to drop or launch 141,921 tons of bombs and missiles against Iraq, the equivalent of over 100,000 tons of explosives, or about seven atomic bombs of the type which America dropped on Japan during the Second World War, Iraq never used chemical weapons during the war. It only used missiles for self-defence, and their power was only a tiny fraction of that of the weapons used by the odious alliance against it, and from which not even places of worship, civilian refugees, schools and colleges, churches and universities were spared.

We do not mean here to defend a right that we wish to reclaim, since all these weapons and factories have been destroyed. We only wish to say that America has used these lies and fabrications to plant, indirectly, in the minds of its listeners, the idea that Iraq used weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons, during the war and that it could, therefore, use them again. They also want to insinuate the idea that the disarming of these weapons was one of the conditions for ending the war to which the opposing sides had agreed. They want to suggest that Iraq alone possesses these weapons, which it does not need, and, since it did not need them, it is dangerous for it to have them. This, despite the fact that successive American Administrations have known that the effectiveness and perhaps even the quantity of such weapons in Iraq's possession during the war were inferior to those held by States and other entities in the region, some of whom were Iraq's enemies. The Zionist entity has nuclear weapons and, only last week, one of its ministers, in support of the hysterical campaign led by America against Iraq, threatened to use all of its biggest weapons, meaning its nuclear weapons, against Iraq, if Iraq used

conventional weapons against it. Not a single voice was raised in protest, despite the fact that Iraq had not threatened that monstrous entity.

Dear Brothers, we put these facts before you, hoping that we have not burdened you with them, but have made you aware of the duplicity, lies, distortion and falsehoods emanating from American officials and others who shout about lies and evil. We say to you with honour, sincerity and integrity, in the name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate, that Iraq has no chemical or biological weapons now. The non-Iraqi specialists have already established that Iraq has no missiles or nuclear weapons and the files have been closed on the matter.

All allegations to the contrary are nothing but lies and fabrications, which are not the result of ignorance or uncertainty, but rather are part of a plan by the Americans and others to maintain the sanctions, prolong the process of mass extinction and inflict suffering on the noble and ancient Iraqi people, contrary to the will of God and the precepts of humanity. This is the fruit of hatred for a great people which has opposed and shall, by the will of God, continue to oppose falsehoods, lies, slander and attempts to dominate and oppress them.

Dear Friends,

Dear Brother Arabs,

The Iraqi people has suffered such pain as could only be described by each individual Iraqi to the extent that he has been affected. Only God could comprehend the totality of that pain and all the elements in it. The Iraqi people, as you know and as you would wish of every lover of liberty, standard bearer of honour and independence and great keeper of the faith, have behaved with honour, standing up for truth and righteousness. They are beyond reproach, and neither listen to nor fear the voices that scream out their threats. The standard "God is great" shall ever be raised above their heads, offering them the greatest assistance of all. Long may they and their nation live! May they preserve their honour and do their duty! May they adhere to their human and national mission, as believers and holders of the faith! May they fear no evil, once their faithful prayer has rung out to the Lord of the Heavens and Earth, saying: "Lord keep our promise and believe in our pledge of faith and obedience to you, as we believe in your promise that the righteous shall be the victors and see Heaven ... Lord, strengthen our hearts in steadfast faith and righteousness, and make us the victors against the enemies of God and humanity."

O Lord, make our hearts firm in faith and truth, and give us victory over the enemies of God and of mankind.

> "Our Lord! Condemn us not if we forget, or miss the mark. Our Lord! Lay not on us such a burden as Thou didst lay on those before us. Our Lord! Impose not on us that which we have not the strength to bear! Pardon us, absolve us and have mercy on us, Thou, our Protector, and give us victory over the unbelievers." God's word is truth.

Members of our glorious nation, rulers and people:

This is the fruit of the struggle waged by your brothers, the great Iraqi people in Iraq, and a sublime fruit it is, on the road of struggle and the righteous cause, which has been and will continue to be the basis of every step forward. You have played your admirable role in that struggle, whether by making supportive statements, by speaking out against the United States aggression, by praying to God to make truth victorious over falsehood, or by keeping silence when speaking out would have been unhelpful. We, your people, in your Iraq, in your Baghdad, offer you our esteem, love and gratitude.

We ask God to unite our community in truth always, to exalt it in the eyes of both its friends and its foes, so that it may make its sons mighty and open for them a way to fulfil their eternal mission for themselves and for all humanity.

Greetings and regards to all friends of truth and fact in the world, who have raised their voices against falsehood and the United States aggression, seeking justice for proud Iraq, who has been wronged.

Greetings to them, including those who are permanent members of the Security Council, most notably the Russian Federation and its President, Mr. Yeltsin, who strove to end the perilous confrontation in which we are shedding quantities of blood, and who strove to bring a halt to the manifold forms of death resulting from the blockade, to which thousands of Iraqis have fallen, victims of injustice and aggression.

And to you, men and noble women, whatever your names, ranks and titles, including some of you who are pillars of your nation, in city and countryside alike, in noble Iraq and fighting for the good cause, we hope to offer you more than our greetings and esteem. For what we know and feel about you, in the depth of our conscience, our being and our hearts, is more than can be contained there. We offer you all that there is in our being, our souls, our conscience and our hearts. We are yours wholly, defending the honour of the burden of fulfilment that you are bearing, your steadfast faith, your firmness in standing by your country and your nation, the position you have taken in this struggle, and all the fundamental positions of the nation and the community.

Long may you live! Yours be the glory and the victory! May God preserve you, who are great and noble and crowned with glory, and represent faith and confidence in God and the future!

Long live our beloved children, the children of Iraq, who have been the targets of injustice and those who kill childhood, in a despicable attempt to extinguish the radiant life in their souls and eyes and wipe the smile from their lips!

Long live our children, boys and glorious girls both, who are the youth of the glorious future, if God permits.

Long live Iraq and her great people! Long live the fearless men of her armed forces, with the watchers in the skies above them, and her people on the ground below, and the men of our anti-aircraft batteries.

Long live our glorious nation! May God grant her the best of everything!

Long live Palestine, free and Arab!

God is most great! May the contemptible ones be confounded!

Enclosure II

[Original: Arabic and Russian]

Joint Russian-Iraqi Declaration

Pursuant to an exchange of messages between Mr. Boris Yeltsin, President of the Russian Federation, and Mr. Saddam Hussein, President of the Republic of Iraq, Mr. Tariq Aziz, Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Iraq, visited Moscow on 18 and 19 November 1997, where he met Mr. Yeltsin and engaged in in-depth and intensive talks with Mr. Yevgeni Primakov, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.

Both the exchange of messages between the two Presidents and the talks between Mr. Aziz and Mr. Primakov were aimed at finding a political and diplomatic solution to the current crisis. An agreement was reached whereby Iraq will accept the return of the Special Commission, with its full complement of members, to resume its regular work in Iraq as from 20 November 1997.

The Russian Federation, for its part, will work actively, subject to Iraq's implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions, for a speedy lifting of the sanctions against Iraq, and, in particular, for the implementation of paragraph 22 of resolution 687 (1991) in strict conformity with the provisions set forth in it, and without any additional conditions. To that end, it will take active measures to enhance the effectiveness of the work of the Special Commission, while respecting the sovereignty and security of Iraq.

The two sides will remain in contact in accordance with the agreements reached.